

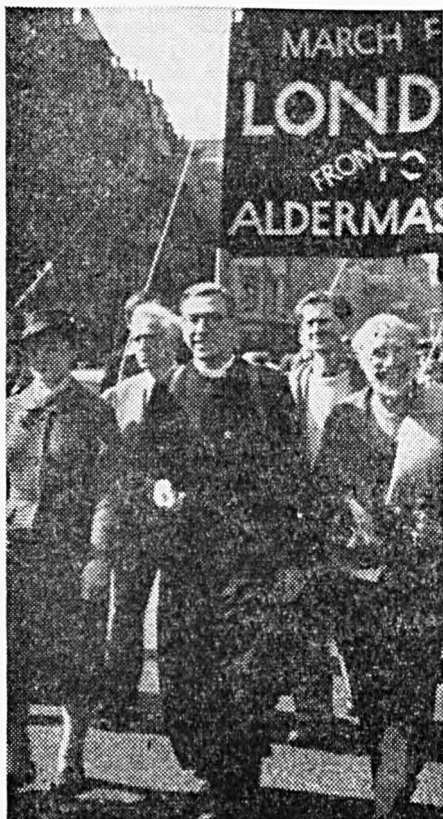


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Churchman leads ACTION AGAINST U.S. MISSILES

WAR challenges CHRISTIANS

See pages 2, 3, 8



Plans for civil disobedience at Omaha

A NATIONAL committee recently set up in the USA has issued a call to non-violent action, similar to that taken in Britain at Swaffham, against their country's nuclear missile policy at the Omaha (Nebraska) Inter-continental ballistic missile base and at other bases in the USA during the last two weeks of June.

Dr. Homer Jack, Unitarian Minister of Evanston, Chicago, and close friend of Albert Schweitzer, is chairman on the committee of 37 which includes the crew of the Golden Rule, the ketch which sailed on a nuclear test protest voyage to the Pacific, Bayard Rustin, American Negro representative at the first Aldermaston March and leader of the Youth March on Washington, and the following Peace News writers and correspondents: Robert Gilmore, Milton Mayer, Stewart Meacham, Theodore Olsen, Jim Peck, Robert Pickus and Arthur Springer.

Another 82 people, including Barbara and Earle Reynolds of the protest vessel "Phoenix," Quaker attorney Walter Longstreth, and scientist Victor Paschke, have added their names to the call.

They have addressed their call to "all our fellow-citizens who are troubled about the cold war and the arms race, to all who realise that no magic or miracle will stop war while we sit idly by. Especially to those who have renounced all war; who believe that non-violence is the only way

to overcome violence, injustice and tyranny; who, in this fearful crisis for humanity, seek more human ways to act for peace.

"The insane arms race continues. It is justified on the grounds of 'deterrence,' each side builds its arsenal of satanic weapons, not to use them, but only to keep the other side from using his. If people trusted in this they would feel secure. Actually, the arms race is preparation for genocide—mass extermination—and in their hearts many people sense this.

"The focal point of the arms race is the Inter-Continental Ballistic Missile—ICBM. The White House, the Pentagon, scientists, engineers, ordinary workmen are feverishly concentrating on building these instruments of death. With the perfection of solid-fuel ICBMs housed in hundreds of underground launching sites, inspected disarmament will become almost impossible. Mankind will live in a state of ever-increasing fear—or be immobilised in apathy.

PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY

"We feel that the way to deal with this situation is to assume personal responsibility. In past months there have been men and women who have taken responsibility, have voiced protest, have acted.

"At the Mercury atomic weapons testing base near Las Vegas on Hiroshima Day, 1957, men and women kept vigil, entered the forbidden testing area, and were arrested.

"The Golden Rule sailed into the Pacific last Spring, its crew intending to go into the Eniwetok testing area. They were served with a restraining order in Honolulu. Twice they sailed, openly refusing to obey an order which they considered against the welfare of humanity. The United States

government jailed them for 60 days, making it impossible for them to reach Eniwetok before the end of the tests.

"The Reynolds family and their Japanese mate then sailed the Phoenix into the testing area and were in turn stopped.

"At Cheyenne and in England concerned people engaged in non-violent intervention in the path of construction equipment, where missile bases were being built.

"A month-long vigil was held before the White House. The Cape Canaveral Missile Base was the site of two other projects. There were walks for peace in many parts of this country and in other lands. Young people are taking action on great social and human issues. An increasing number of individuals refuse to pay taxes for war, preferring to suffer jail sentences rather than have their earnings used for mass suicide."

THEIR PROGRAMME

This is their programme of action:

June 18-19: Public meetings in Lincoln and Omaha.

June 20-21: Training sessions for participants, including leaflet distribution, conferences with public officials and opinion makers, and visitations to churches.

June 22-24: Walks from Lincoln and Omaha to the Mead ICBM construction site.

June 24-30: Vigil at the entrance of the ICBM base.

July 1-7: Direct action involving civil disobedience by some, while the vigil continues.

"We call people to participate at all levels of the Omaha action programme, from giving secretarial assistance to non-violent action at the missile base construction site."

They urge all who cannot come to Omaha to join regionally with others in organising similar action at missile bases or other armament installations, or to take any available personal stand which will

● ON BACK PAGE





"Lord, can you conceive of any circumstances under which I should do this thing."

Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall has made the following comment* on the British Council of Churches Report on "Christians and Atomic War." The Report not only ignored new thinking on the subject of defence such as that recently published in Sir Stephen's book, "Defence in the Nuclear Age," but also the findings of the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee Working Party, published in the pamphlet "Unarmed."

CHURCH AND THE H-BOMB: NO ANSWER FROM THIS

THE British Council of Churches has produced a report entitled "Christians and Atomic War," prepared by a group consisting of nine clergymen and four laymen.

Its purpose is to make: "a contribution to Christian thinking on the disarmament problem and defence policy in the nuclear age."

It is a disappointing document.

The group recognises that it is: "a valid Christian position to suggest that full Christian obedience involves the refusal to participate in war" and that: "the known horrors of Hiroshima, the anticipated horrors of nuclear war on a vastly more destructive scale and the largely unknown dangers for the future health of mankind in the testing of nuclear weapons, have enormously strengthened the argument that Christians should say 'No' to war of this kind . . . This view is represented within our group; yet the group as a whole was not able to offer it as a sufficient answer to the question before it."

Why was this? The group give us the answer.

Because this view: "has not found clear articulation in terms of a political policy which can be responsibly adopted by a government."

The statement we have italicised is—to put it bluntly—untrue; and it is extraordinary that these nine professing Christians should sign such an assertion unless they expect us to believe they have never heard of the proposal that the United

Kingdom should give a lead in renouncing nuclear energy for military purposes.

They must know perfectly well that this policy exists and has found "clear articulation in terms of a political policy."

So their objection to it is that it cannot be: "responsibly adopted by a government."

Two questions

If they mean by this odd phrase that the British Government today can say that the adoption of this policy would not reflect the views of most members of the House of Commons, who in their turn are supposed to reflect the views of the electorate, the group is correct. But two questions arise:

- Does the group think that it is never the business of the Government to lead public opinion?
- Does the group think that it is not the business of the churches and the Christian fellowship to endeavour to create a public opinion in favour of a Christian policy?

Furthermore, is it not true to say that whenever some great issue of right or wrong—such for example as was the abolition of slavery—is a national issue, there is always a stage when the right policy can be evaded by saying that it cannot be "responsibly adopted by a government"?

Had these gentlemen lived in Jerusalem at the beginning of the Christian era it seems reasonable to assume that, had they discussed the views of Jesus of Nazareth with Him, they would have told Him that He was advocating poli-

cies which one could not expect the Jewish and Roman establishment to "responsibly adopt."

Fortunately for the faith this group profess, Our Lord was more concerned with preaching what was right than in excluding what was not politically possible at the time.

Having dodged this issue by pretending it does not exist, because it cannot (they assert) be "responsibly adopted by a government," the group say:

"All of us owe our livelihood, our standard of living, our democratic freedoms to the present position of Britain in the world. (It would be more correct to substitute the word 'past' for present, or at least say something to recognise the 19th century.—K.H.) In so far as we believe we should accept those benefits, we must face the fact that they are dependent upon the use of political and military power."

The italicised words are breathtaking in their dogmatism. One might imagine that we were dealing with facts such as $2 \times 2 = 4$. And what do they mean by "political and military power"? One has the impression that they had some heart-searchings on this subject, because on the same page they write:

"We do not believe that our country should be, or can be defended, especially in a nuclear age without taking the consequences for ourselves, our neighbours and the whole of mankind into urgent consideration. The whole meaning of 'defence' has been altered. The validity of the concept is in question."

The second chapter of the report is an analysis of the current defence situation and is a conventional military apprecia-

The language of Christ

Richard Ullman is an Associate Lecturer at Woodbrooke Training College and a member of the Friends Peace Committee. He is the author of several books and pamphlets, including "German Parliament" (with Sir Stephen King-Hall) and "Quaker Peace Testimony Restated." His latest book "Between God and History" is due out in July.

MOST of the Christian churches have, at one time or other, been responsible for aggravating the cold war. Especially many churches in the West, living in a tradition where they can take a large share in the educational, social and political life of their societies, are used to identifying such extraneous activities with living the Christian life.

Since similar conditions are not given in a Marxist system, they expect their brethren in Eastern Europe to be resisters and martyrs, and abuse them indiscriminately as time-serving fellow-travellers if they try to be responsible Christian citizens in their socialist totalitarian environment. Western church-people, in their middle-class environment, seem to forget that Christianity rose and flourished in a pagan society under a pagan ruler, who on many occasions saw fit to persecute them, on others wished to make use of their moral strength.

Our brethren in the East have had to learn what Christian faithfulness means in an atheistic system which gives them neither privileges nor protection and indeed derides and persecutes their faith as unscientific. This should be a grave lesson to us Christians in the West who, in the hubbub of church clubs and social activities, are forgetting more and more the task of being real Christians in our sub-Christian society, of being in the world as responsible citizens, but not of the world and its materialistic standards.

PRAGUE PEACE CONFERENCE

Our lack of faith can be seen most clearly in the distrust with which we meet the call of our Eastern brethren to join forces with them in their labours for the peace of the world. Too many members of our Western churches are still involved in the obnoxious idea of the "just war," even in this nuclear age. While thus acting under the influence of Western military thinking, they in their turn suspect their Eastern brethren of acting under the orders of their Communist Governments.

We may well admit that the policy-makers in the Kremlin may have their own reasons why in recent years they have allowed, and even fostered, the desire of the churches in Eastern Europe to meet with their brethren in the West. There can, however, be no doubt that most of our Eastern brethren are motivated not by politics but by a deeper knowledge of what true Christianity implies. If they call for peace, it is not peace in the sense that has become suspect the world over; nor does it rise from a subservient obedience to their State, but from a new understanding of what Christian obedience means in a pagan world.

It is in this spirit that the Christian Peace Conference was called together in Prague, in summer 1958, and Prof. Vogel of the Humboldt University (East Berlin) proclaimed his challenging "Sixty Theses on the Church of Jesus Christ and the Nuclear Threat." The matters then discussed were pursued at the second Christian Peace Conference which took place again in Prague, last

month. This time the number of participants had more than doubled, especially because of an increase in Western participation.

It must be said, however, that they did not represent their churches in the same comprehensive way in which the Eastern churches were represented by leading churchmen from Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, Poland and Hungary. True, the German Federal Republic was represented by a strong team, but they were all members of the Brotherhoods, that very vocal minority of the German Protestant Church, who have learned the lessons of Hitlerism and of the means of mass-destruction. Great Britain, France and the United States were represented only by a few Quakers, Mennonites and members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the usual odd-men-out of Western Christendom.

WORLD PRAYER

All the same, the Prague Conference succeeded in developing further its great vision: that because Christians had been responsible for the destructive features of modern civilisation, symbolized in the bombs of Hiroshima, Christians must shoulder together their common guilt and make a new start. An invitation has been sent out to Christians all over the world to join in prayer, if possible on the anniversary of Hiroshima, or on any other suitable date. The conference went further than condemning nuclear weapons when it turned against the cold war itself, through which we are subjected to fear, suspicion and the acceptance of propaganda lies. It stated in Christian terms that not co-existence but love casteth out fear.

The Conference has charged a continuing body with the task of preparing the way for an All-Christian Assembly for Peace, in 1961. Such a world-wide Assembly should serve at the same time international reconciliation and closer ecumenical co-operation. Above all, it should help to free Christian people everywhere from their involvement in the evils of the cold war.

In this context the resolution to send a telegram to the Foreign Minister's Conference in Geneva seems almost conventional. The outstanding feature of Prague was not political action. It was the fact that we forgot our Eastern and Western idioms and discovered with great joy that we all could speak and understand the language of Christ.

tion of the situation. In summarising this part of the report its authors mention almost casually that: "There are in the United Kingdom those who believe that this country, in particular, should rid itself of total war preparations altogether, as a contribution to reducing tension."

But, say the group, although the wisdom "from economic, technical and political points of view" of such proposals "may be matters for debate, from a moral point of view there would not seem to be any great advantage."

A Christian approach?

We suppose our readers will share our amazement that this remark can be found in a specifically Christian approach to the problems of nuclear war, but it is to be found in black on white on page 15.

On page 16 we learn that:

"The tragic and fateful possibility exists however, that our society is now of a kind which will prefer not to meet the cost of this relief, but to choose to maintain its material standards instead."

"This relief," we must explain, is to be "a very considerable increase in conventional forces" (man-power and equipment) so that we need not be the first to use tactical nuclear weapons.

Incidentally the technical advisers to the group appear to have been a retired rear-admiral and a lecturer in war studies. Estimable gentlemen, but not people whose views on nuclear strategy would be given great weight at the Imperial Defence College. The members of the group should have secured the services of Lords Alanbrooke and Montgomery

● ON PAGE THREE

*Reproduced, by permission, from the of April 29. King-Hall Newsletter

War Challenges Christians—II

THE IDOL MUST BE DESTROYED

André Trocmé

The Secretary of the French Fellowship of Reconciliation and Travelling Secretary of the International FoR, Pastor André Trocmé, became a pacifist while serving in the army in World War I. He spent several weeks in a concentration camp during World War II because of his assistance to Jews. Forced into hiding under pain of death by the Gestapo, he was later able to return to the little village of Le Chambon sur Lignon where he maintained peaceful resistance.

SO the preachers should be more discreet! How can a man, with only a theological training discuss competently scientific, technical, political or economic problems, say the specialists in these fields.

Yet most specialists suffer from the professional sickness of the studios: they are near-sighted, their horizon is limited, they seem unable to gauge the consequences of their discoveries. There are only a few world renowned intellectual leaders, such as Schweitzer, Russell, von Weizsacker and Rostand who make use of these techniques as good servants of humanity.

It is at this point, therefore, that religious men can do a service to the savants, reminding them of the dangers of idolatry as did the prophets in ancient times.

H-bomb slavery

WHAT is an idol? It is a visible image of the power of God. God has the power to create and destroy. And now modern man, the new Prometheus, has seized some of this power to destroy matter and life. The H-bomb is a visible image of the power of God himself. Yet while God remains obstinately invisible, unembodied, universal, the truth for all at all times and in all countries, the bomb, the idol of the twentieth century, is visible, incarnate, and enslaves the nations which make it.

What a source of satisfaction it is for the United States, for Russia, for England, and soon for France, to have domesticated this divine power and to have their own

idols, a bomb which is 100 per cent American. Russian, English, French, and which marches before them assuring their safety! It would be foolish indeed to trust in an invisible God to assure the survival of the nation. The H-bomb is effective; God is not! And because the bomb is their bulwark, everyone must contribute to making it more streamlined, more powerful and ever more effective.

The scientist in his laboratory, the engineer in his factory, the worker, the politician, the soldier and the journalist, all are enmeshed in the terrible and holy secret of the bomb idol.

Woe to him who would reveal the secret! Woe to him who would ask too many questions! Woe unto the scientist, the soldier or the ordinary citizen who is seized by any doubts! Woe to him who does not bend the knee before the idol, for he shall be shunned and excluded by his countrymen and his government!

Idol demands all

THIS idol is even beginning to set up its boards of inquisition to judge the disloyal. All those who will openly resist the idol must be ready to suffer persecution: loss of a job, of reputation, expulsion from laboratories, imprisonment, death. The idol wants us to sacrifice everything for her. The idol will not be destroyed unless we are ready to sacrifice everything to the struggle against her.

The man of Nazareth

AH, if only the universal God would but break his silence, if He would but consent to be incarnated in a powerful form! But no! He incarnates himself only in a despised weakling. Just look at the man of Nazareth! At His short and ineffective career! Listen to His words, so completely unadapted to this century of automation. What a wasted effort was His sacrifice of Himself.

The man who will be the first to set foot on the moon, such a man will not have risked his life in vain. But Jesus has accomplished nothing for the past 2,000 years, except, perhaps, the stirring up of the faith of a few naive beings who still await an intervention by God.

The betrayal

HOWEVER, the bomb has a weakness, one perhaps, but it is a fatal one!

When America discovered the H-bomb, she thought she had found the secret of universal peace. She had such a running start over the other nations, such a large portion of the power of God, that she thought she would be able to dictate peace to the world.

But alas. Several years later Russia also had her bomb and one is afraid today that her bomb may be better than America's! The only defect of this idol is that it is always multiplying. Today there are three H-bomb powers, America, Russia and England. Tomorrow there will be four, or ten, or twenty . . . until the day arrives when any irresponsible little tyrant will have it in his power to destroy all humanity.

Thus this idol, this "Golden Calf," betrays those who serve her and whom she is supposed to defend. She is the daughter of deceit and the mother of oblivion.

No compromise

THIS is what the modern prophets should cry from the house tops before it is too late. Only the invisible and universal truth, which has marked the long, slow path of man's history with a Cross and holds the secret of life, can assure the survival of humanity.

But on one condition: the believer, the scientist, the technician, the worker, the politician, the journalist and the military man must have confidence in truth and must destroy the bomb, not because they are scared of death, but because they trust the Power of Truth.

Never before in all history have the prophets of the Most High made any



ANDRÉ TROCMÉ

compromise with the idols of their time. They have always smashed them and thrown them into the fire. Nothing less must be done today with H-bombs.

War Challenges Christians—III

A layman looks at religion

By WALLACE HANCOCK

I AM a layman. The overwhelming majority in the Church of Christ are laymen. Many laymen in these days have come to look at war from a different angle from most clergymen. Most of the clergy have not seen war through our eyes, because the clergy are exempt by Act of Parliament from military service. Presumably that is because from time immemorial they have been excused from the dreadful acts of war, because they are specially dedicated to the way of Christ and the two things are incompatible. The Clergy are therefore exempt in war time from making a major decision about life such as most laymen have had to make. Some may have seen service as padres—a privileged position in the military machine

Those of us who are laymen saw war in a different way. The job of killing was the most shattering, revolutionary and bitter thing that we ever had to do. Others who did not fight had to face Tribunals and sometimes persecution and sometimes prison. All this means that a layman will see war differently from a clergyman.

Then of course the clergyman makes an intensive study of theology which most laymen do not understand. Because of his long and intensive study of Christianity the priest is apt to put his emphasis upon doctrine, belief and theology, which the layman accepts from him on trust. We are clerks, carpenters, engineers, busmen, we have not had the advantage of scholarship and we leave religion at that level to the clergy. Faith therefore tends to become an intellectual or doctrinal faith and not

*A simple trust like those who heard,
Beside the Syrian sea
The gracious calling of the Lord.*

Church and pacifism

This seems to some laymen very vital, because the intellectuals and "authority" in the Church are ranged against the simple pacifist layman in a mighty phalanx. One is told that in the Orthodox Church, pacifism is scarcely known: Roman Catholic conscientious objectors are as rare as snow in summer: the pacifist layman finds it difficult, if not impossible to find a champion on the bench of bishops or much consolation in the colleges.

Nevertheless, many laymen are quite certain that pacifism is right. They feel intuitively (the Quakers have a name for it—they call it "the God within") that as Christians they must renounce war. Not many laymen feel like this of course: just a few thousand in a Christian Pacifist organisation and a few thousand Quakers: not many more in all Europe than would fill the Albert Hall.

The layman is disturbed that although the Church does not see that war can never be justified, nevertheless many of the people in his office and workshop who make no claims to idealism or any high moral code, agree with him. He finds that most non-Christians will admit that if they were

WHY THE PN FUND?

NEW readers of the paper may not be aware that the continued existence of Peace News depends on the response to this fortnightly appeal for the Peace News Fund which has to meet a deficit of £2,500 on the year's working.



There is no one behind the scenes financing the paper; just a fine band of readers who believe that by ensuring the appearance of the world's only weekly peace newspaper they are helping to make the world a better and more safe place to live in.

Nearly four months of our financial year have passed and we have raised only one-sixth of our target of £2,500. There is a need to double-up. Have you helped the Peace News Fund this year?

THE EDITOR.

Contributions since May 8: £51 17s. 6d.
Total since Feb. 1, 1959: £401 6s. 7d.
Gratefully acknowledged: Anon, Sheffield, 10s.; Church End, £1.
To Building Fund: FEB, £1; Portsmouth, 5s.

Please makes cheques, etc., payable to Lady Clare Annesley, Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

Christians they would have to be pacifists. It hurts him when his secular friends point out that the plaudits for the latest declaration of the British Council of Churches on the H-bomb come from the reactionary press and he is dismayed when his non-religious acquaintances sneeringly tell him that the Christian Church is far behind secular opinion.

Caricature of Jesus

He wants a moral lead and he doesn't get it. He asks his Christian fathers to "give him bread and they give him a stone." The layman is wondering what there is "to go for" in religion if the opinions of the religious leaders are merely the echo of current non-religious press and conventional opinion.

Like those of His day, the layman says "We would see Jesus." What is He like who would have our unswerving devotion and uncompromising loyalty? Some of us see him as a kind of eternal focus of everything that is best and noblest in men and women: as willing to suffer, but never to cause suffering; as one who shows us how our lives could be changed if we would "do to others as we would that they should do to us": as one who came into the world with a new commandment to love one another and so offered Himself as the saviour of all mankind, not merely in some mythical mystical way, but in a practical, down-to-earth change in life in all its aspects.

But the Church appears to say that that is an impossible caricature of Jesus: that faced with personified evil such as Hitler, or the threat of the anti-God dominion of a Stalin, it is right that the followers of Christ should blockade and blast and burn and bomb their enemies. And Christians do.

Is that other picture of Christ merely a caricature, just a day-dream, or is it the living reality which has, down through the ages, sustained those who have been called to witness courageously to His teachings?

If the Church says it is merely a caricature, then there are many laymen like myself who will not be sufficiently attracted to Christianity that we will want to interest ourselves in the doctrine and such matters.

DOCUMENT

● FROM PAGE TWO

or even General MacArthur, who in 1956 as good as said he had become a pacifist.

We have read this document carefully and several times. We approached it with hope; we leave it with the feeling that if this is all the churches can give us by way of guidance in our Christian duty in the dilemma in which we find ourselves, there must either be something sadly wrong with Christianity or with those who profess to interpret its doctrines.

What is so sad about this report is that, whilst it concedes that to contract out of nuclear war is a valid Christian position, it then abdicates all its moral responsibilities, makes no attempt to analyse or examine the non-nuclear policy and uncritically accepts pre-nuclear age ideas about the use of force and, in the words of the *Manchester Guardian* "asks Christians to face the difficulties that confront statesmen and military staffs."

Our comment is that Christians should not contract out of their personal responsibilities by dragging in the difficulties of statesmen and military staffs. Those difficulties exist because Christians have not got the courage to speak as Christians in this affair, to ask themselves not "what would the general staff advise?" but "what would Christ command?" Are we really in doubt about what His views would have been about nuclear war? Even if we are in such doubt, it is the unique and unprecedented consequence of the use of nuclear energy for military purposes that for the first time in the history of defence, morality and expediency are now one and the same thing.

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RESPONSIBILITY

ON AUGUST 6, 1945, a single bomb fell out of the sky over Hiroshima. At one stroke the city ceased to exist. Survivors were left to die in agony in the chaos, burned, blasted, poisoned and tortured. Fourteen years later they are still dying.

President Truman announced that evening that the bomb had a blast power of 20,000 tons of TNT—compared with the previous largest bomb of 10 tons.

The explosion at Hiroshima was so terrific that for 48 hours it was not possible even to take reconnaissance photographs. These eventually showed that over four square miles of the city were completely obliterated, quite apart from the terrible damage outside that area.

An official report issued from Guam, in the Western Pacific, said: "A large part of Hiroshima simply dissolved into a vast cloud of dust when the bomb exploded. What had been a city going about its business on a sunny morning went up in a mountain of dust-filled smoke, black at the base and towering into a plume of white to 40,000 feet."

No estimate was possible of the number of people killed in Hiroshima; at Guam it was thought that perhaps over 100,000, or even many more, had died.

Three days later at Nagasaki the Hiroshima bomb became obsolete. Today weapons are being made with at least 2,000 times the power of the Nagasaki bomb. It is thought that there is no limit to their possible size.

★ ★ ★

THE GOVERNMENTS of Britain and the United States have now agreed which targets in the Soviet bloc will be attacked in the event of another war, The Scotsman reported on May 8.

When Emrys Hughes, MP, raised the matter in the House of Commons last week the Government spokesman brushed him aside with the usual phrases which surround war preparations. "It would clearly not be in the public interest. . . I am sure he will not expect me to comment on newspaper reports."

This coldly calculated decision to select targets for obliteration is a provocation which comes as a shock. We felt an even greater pain at the news of Hiroshima, and this was increased when we learned that the Chaplain, the Reverend William Downey, had put the blessing of the Christian Church on that dreadful mission before the crew set out to Japan.

Now that the passions of World War II are cooling, many more people can join us in condemning as utterly wrong what was done to the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

It is right that people should feel a sense of shock when faced with the very worst that war produces. But this IS war, and similar preparations are taking place every minute of the day. Targets are being selected, "enemy" countries secretly mapped by raiding aircraft, spy systems operated, fantastic risks taken—all because these are inevitably part of the preparation for total war.

This is not a policy which can be conducted decently by anyone. Any Government, Party, Church, organisation or individual which accepts it must allow the necessary preparations it involves.

★ ★ ★

THE ONE EXCUSE that people have for this support is thoughtlessness, ignorance—"they know not what they do."

Governments that prepare for total war have to keep their citizens ill-informed and unquestioning. Any vital consideration raises issues which it is "not in the public interest" to discuss. Wherever national war policy touches the life of the individual there must be gross deception.

This is the world in which we live. Preparations for a final world war continue night and day. As yet there are only the beginnings of public outcry. So long as the vast majority of people tolerate such preparations there is no question where the responsibility lies: it rests with every one of us.

The Western package plan . . .

THE Western package plan presented at Geneva is hardly worth consideration any longer as a live issue in spite of the excellence of a number of its points taken in isolation.

It is known that it was prepared in something of a hurry, and with considerable give-and-take to keep President de Gaulle and Chancellor Adenauer in line, in order to present the Russians with something positive at the conference table.

We probably come closest to the truth if we think of it as the proverbial bone thrown to a dog to see how he will react. And the dog has sniffed at it just long enough to know that bits of it are worth gnawing—but only if the thrower first hacks it into bits.

In first appearance the West's proposals look like an "All or Nothing—take it or leave it." But as no one ever imagined that the Russians would be so obliging as to swallow the whole package—and the conference is also not meant to fail so blatantly as to turn the projected Summit meeting into a certain non-starter—it is fairly easy to see that first proposals in this case are not last words.

There was logic, up to a point, in Mr. Selwyn Lloyd's words last Friday at Geneva when he recommended the package plan to Mr. Gromyko, that the various problems were so inter-related that "they cannot be solved in isolation." The question of Berlin, of the unification of Germany, of a common peace treaty and of the problem of removing tensions from Central Europe are obviously connected issues; and nothing fit to be described as normal conditions can be brought about until all have been settled.

But this does not pre-determine the order in which they should and can be settled, as the package plan would like to do; nor does it dispose of the fact that some of them cannot possibly be settled until a much better general atmosphere has been created through the gradual effects of a settlement of the smaller ones.

. . . Unrealistic

TO suggest that the Russians should accept free elections throughout Berlin while the living standard of their part of the town is conspicuously lower than that of West Berlin; that they should agree to an electoral law for the whole of Germany being drafted by a mixed East-West German committee in which East Germany would have 10 representatives against West Germany's 25, in mathematical proportion with the population figures, is quite unrealistic. Proposals such as these, to mention only two taken haphazardly out of the package, are almost provocative, however logical they may also be.

If this conference can succeed in making a measure of progress towards nothing greater than the direct problem of Berlin, it will have done well—particularly if that progress were to include United Nations supervision instead of the present four Powers régime over the city.

There are two fundamental wrongs which bedevil the situation even if we apply the term only to the Berlin problem to the exclusion of all others, and both are serious enough to keep the danger of failure close to the observer's mind: the Russian wrong is to restrict the conception of a free city of Berlin to the Western part while themselves holding on to the Eastern; and the West's wrong is the obstinate refusal to grant recognition to the government of East Germany. Need we all copy the American mistake about China?

Negative NATO

MILITARISM imposes its own values on everything it touches. The latest evidence of this comes in the continuing debate on whether Franco's Spain should be admitted to NATO.

One particularly interesting contribution to this discussion was a letter in The Times last Friday from Mr. William Teeling, MP. He refers to the "strategically illogical omission" of Spain from NATO, and opposes this because the country's "staunch anti-Communism," and "her alliance with America, the re-equipment and reorganisation of her always tough armed forces with American aid make her what should be a most sought-after member of the Western defence system."

Realising something of the supremely authoritarian nature of Franco's rule, Mr. Teeling points out that NATO-member Portugal also "enjoys" an undemocratic régime. He might have cared to state explicitly that this means that the jails of Dr. Salazar are as full of opponents of dictatorship as are Generalissimo Franco's.

Mr. Teeling's conclusion is that "we do well to forget the events of 23 years ago" and "from a purely selfish point of view, see where the best interests of the West lie."

No wonder Mr. Teeling is anxious to forget the past! Twenty-three years ago aircraft of the Axis Powers bombed the Spanish city of Guernica and thus inaugurated the era of civilian massacre.

It is clear that Mr. Teeling's enthusiasm for the largest military organisation in history leads him to ignore certain fundamentals. NATO was set up ostensibly to defend certain values against a threat of unacceptable principles. Once one is prepared to wipe out millions of civilians, however, thoughts of principles and values are somewhat superfluous. The only consideration becomes whether a Government represents "staunch anti-Communism."

The Warsaw Pact Governments likewise can make much play of their staunch anti-imperialism and anti-fascism, yet they too believe it may be necessary to blot out whole nations. The more such beliefs are accepted, the more the Governments come to act similarly, the "necessity" of military policy deciding what political conditions shall prevail.

It is quite probable that Spain will be incorporated eventually into NATO. That would be a further open admission of the assumptions upon which present calculations are made.

Death penalty

THE British Home Secretary considers that it is too soon yet to review or amend the Homicide Act; that in brief is his answer to those who are seeking again to raise the issue of the current use of the death penalty. It is the answer to those who want capital punishment finally removed from our laws; but it is also the answer to those who want the penalty more widely used, and to end the limitation of its use which the Homicide Act provides.

The Act was an uneasy compromise and apparently must remain so, illogical and unfortunate as it is in its workings, to retain a temporary balance between the strong pressures on both sides for amendment of the law.

For those who want to see capital punishment ended there is a danger only that too much agitation just now will produce an emotional reaction on the part of those who want the death penalty to be more widely used. But the Act must be amended in a few years time and the preparation for this will be in constant education and propaganda on the subject. Executions have no place in the law of a country claiming to be Christian.

Mr. Osborne, the MP for Louth, is making much of the fact that two children have been murdered in his constituency recently, and so he wants the death penalty restored for child murder. A child murderer is rarely sane and normal; and if Mr. Osborne would be logical enough to examine the history of the subject he would discover that children were still murdered even under the previous legislation. So were policemen, and it was for their protection that the Homicide Act made a special provision which has recently been demonstrated as being ineffective.

Those concerned with the reputation of Britain in social matters should give much more emphasis to the increasing isolation in which the country finds itself with regard to the use of the death penalty. In most of Europe Britain is regarded as strangely mixing advanced ideas about the treatment of crime, with the retention of capital punishment. This supposedly brave people apparently needs a protection most civilised people do without.

The abolitionist countries do not pretend that they have no murders, but murders there do not lead to agitation for the return of the death penalty. In its absence murderers are more readily brought to justice, for courts are less liable to find the sort of excuses on to which they cling where their verdict may condemn a man to death.

The countries with a wide use of capital punishment also still have murders and some of the American States provide most glaring examples of this—New York, with plenty of executions, has as many murders each year as the whole of Britain.

A new and dramatic campaign for abolition now might harden the opposition; the tragedy is that the last campaign was so soon folded up when the Homicide Act was passed in 1956. The need now is for a regular reiteration of the clear and unanswerable facts about the matter.

IN PERSPECTIVE

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Nuclear Disarmament and PPU

TED BERRROW'S letter seems to suggest that one of the points at issue is whether or not officers who are instructed to carry out decisions of which they cannot in conscience approve should resign. Both the National Chairman and the General Secretary made their position on that question clear to the AGM. The real grievance which both Ted Berrrow and Ian Dixon seem to have is that their motions did not obtain sufficient support at the AGM from which they concluded that the PPU is not as healthy as it might be, or that it is negating democracy. That would suggest that neither Ian Dixon nor Ted Berrrow are prepared to accept that anyone else can be right who disagrees with them. At least those who take the opposite view in regard to CND have never said or implied that.

Why should Ted Berrrow suggest that the present National Chairman does not represent the majority of the PPU? Although no member can be in doubt as to the position which Sybil Morrison takes, she was elected National Chairman by a considerable majority of those who voted in the recent ballot, and those who in the ballot paper notes made it clear where they stood in regard to CND, also received a considerable number of votes in the election for National Council.

Once more Ted Berrrow picks on one motion passed at the AGM and ignores others, in particular the motion which was carried with only seventeen present dissenting: "This Annual General Meeting of the Peace Pledge Union, while being against all wars and weapons and being concerned at the growing division in the Movement and anxious to restore unity of purpose, reaffirms that the fundamental aim of the PPU is to work for the total abolition of war, leaving individual members free to take part in such activities as they wish."

If it is a question of "representing the majority of the Movement," no one does it better than Sybil Morrison.

It has always been one of the characteristics of the PPU that on the basis of the pledge, which all accept, members whose way of implementing it differ can find a real fellowship and a respect for each other's integrity. It will be tragic indeed if the attempt at exclusiveness carries with it implied attacks on the integrity of others. I would appeal to all members of the PPU to act in the spirit of the above motion, for neither those who believe it to be right to devote their time and energies to CND or Direct Action, nor those who wish to support more directly the activities to which the PPU Campaign Committee calls them, can afford to waste their time and energy in attacking one another.—STUART MORRIS, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

I ENDORSE Ted Berrrow's observations (PN, May 15) on the relationship of the PPU to the CND and DAC. As a PPU member for some years, I believe that the most effective way one can ensure the eventual success of the objective for which the PPU stands—abolition of all war—is to engage in those activities most likely at the present moment to secure the support of the maximum number of people as a first stage on the road to the eventual goal.

Activity on a level that a great number of people can understand does not mean compromise on basic issues. In fact, those who will only preach pure pacifism are

often compromising, by their own inactivity, in a direct manner on issues which would lead to the goal they desire.

The activities of CND have presented the PPU with the most effective opportunity for action during this generation. The purest attitude, that nuclear weapons are essentially the same as, only more powerful than ordinary weapons, completely ignores the poisoning of the earth's atmosphere and the genetic effects with us NOW.

This is one example of an issue arising from nuclear weapons on which every PPU member has no excuse for not acting NOW. Members should be writing to their Medical Officer of Health, as they are entitled as Local Government Electors, asking what action the local council (the Health Authority) is taking in the matter. What monitoring of the atmosphere is being conducted? What is the level of Strontium 90 and Caesium 137 in local milk supplies? What sources of radiation exist in their local government area? What radio-active effluents are being discharged? What statistics are being compiled on abnormal births?

There is a vast field of fruitful activity for PPU members here. And in undertaking it they will not only help to intensify the demand for ending tests, then logically, I believe, for the abolition of nuclear weapons, but also will be working amongst people and gaining experience which will be invaluable in their demand for the abolition of all weapons.

This type of activity is the starting point in effective action. Letters must be written by everyone, local councillors lobbied tirelessly and action from MPs demanded. Fall-out is indiscriminate and the next child born diseased as a result of the tests might be in their own family. This is something that can and must be driven home. Here is only one reason to place the campaign in the van of the struggle for peace. It is a field for action in which everyone can take part.—AUSTIN UNDERWOOD, 4, Earls Rd., Amesbury, Wilts.

I SIMPLY must support what Ian Dixon, and others, say about the official attitude of the Peace Pledge Union. Sybil Morrison and Stuart Morris may have the "right" of it, but only in a very narrow and legalistic sense. I am amazed that these two stalwart warriors, to whom we owe so much, should fall back on this kind of lawyer's talk. Can they honestly say that PPU members who support CND and Direct Action have had a square deal from Headquarters?

People say that comparisons are odious, but they are necessary sometimes. Will our officers, our National Council and our fellow members compare the discouragement dished out from Headquarters to the hundreds and hundreds of PPUers who believe, mistakenly or no, that they must support CND with the treatment of minute minority groups. The Religion Commission, for instance, has every facility granted to it although probably less than 100 members give active support. This Commission has a page in the Annual Agenda where one can read of pilgrimages here, services there, and, of course, a bazaar to boot. They are also allowed time at the AGM to present the report whilst motions of moment are cut and squeezed. I do not wish to deprecate the Religion Commission—I should probably attend their functions were I not so lost in the Yorkshire wilderness. Other comparisons could be made; for instance, one might recall the unfortunate Acland affair when Dick Sheppard House was placed at the disposal of this non-pacifist politician. I deeply respect the opinions of the two officers on this issue, indeed, I think we should take careful note of them. Nevertheless, this does not justify their attitude as represented in their answer to Ian Dixon. They see one danger to the Union, one appreciates this; many of us see a far greater danger to the Union when

the letter of Democracy is substituted for the spirit.—KEN CHADWICK, 35 Berkeley Avenue, Leeds, 8.

ONE might have hoped, now the AGM is over, that PPU members could get on with their activities without recriminations. Our National Chairman and Council have been elected by the most democratic method known, namely, that of voting by the whole membership by proportional representation. The only sane and balanced policy for any organisation has been overwhelmingly endorsed. By this our officials are left free to carry out the unique work of the Union, whilst individual members are free to support whatever projects they wish.

This is not the time, as the Alton Group appears to think, to hold "the last monthly meeting until autumn." On the contrary never was the time more suitable nor the need more urgent to press on with full pacifist propaganda, leaving other organisations, who do not support our full aims, to get on with their work.—MARY WILKINS, 57, Clifton Road, Rugby.

'Smallholder's reply to Tolstoi'

YOUR contributor's description (PN, May 1) of a Quaker gent. living on a 20-acre smallholding as his expression of anti-war arouses nostalgic memories of community farms in World War II.

But let us be frank and realistic about this business of escaping from the pressure and intolerance of a war-minded society, for make no mistake, *escape* it is. And a very nice life it can be, too. The English countryside is a fine place to live in, winter or summer, and those of us who have that privilege have much to be thankful for.

But anyone who accepts a cash income from a State-subsidised agricultural system can hardly be said to have achieved anything except to get into a peripheral position on the edge of a society which has to feed—and it is a fact that the industrial and commercial profits earned by those engaged in the vast conurbations of the United Kingdom help to provide the subsidies paid for guaranteed milk prices and baconer pigs.

One notes your contributor's remark that our Quaker friend does not believe in too much diversification on a small holding so milking and pig breeding are the predominant undertakings. How long could that be continued without a Government subsidy? And suppose a further 50,000 "townees" went on to the land to breed milch cows and pigs?

I am not arguing against subsidies, or milking cows, but I find it difficult to think through a philosophy which is "absolutist" on the one hand as regards war occupations, but accepts direct economic support on the other when it comes to taking a "cut" out of the national income cake. Somehow one feels pacifists ought to be consistent—perhaps that is why I was a "conditionalist" in the last war.

Apart from that, is it not time the pacifist movement ceased to place any reliance upon back-to-the-land philosophies, spinning wheels, and the like, as basic to the removal of war?—ARTHUR W. HOPKINS, Hazelwell, 29 Down Green Lane, off Nomansland Common, Wheathampstead, St. Albans.

March from Aldermaston

BECAUSE Evelyn Peat (PN, May 15) does not see eye to eye with me does not necessarily mean that it is I who am wearing the blinkers! Nor, for that matter, does it mean that either of us need be accused of deliberate blindness; it is very possible for two people to see the same object from different angles.

Nevertheless, I note that she now declares that she would place no value on a government's agreement to limit weapons, but in her first letter she was stating her agreement with your leader

(with which I disagree) that the abolition of nuclear weapons must automatically mean that conventional weapons become "so much junk." Which *does* she in fact believe?

If she is prepared to campaign for nuclear disarmament while not believing that it will result in the abolition of other weapons, but merely in the hope that the pacifist attack against war itself will be strengthened, then of course she must do what she thinks is right.

For myself, time and energy being necessarily limited, I could not possibly do that, but must continue to concentrate on persuading people to commit themselves to refusal to support or sanction war, which in the end is the only possible way to bring about the abolition of war.

I hope we may agree to differ without accusing each other of lack of vision, while continuing to work towards our mutual end in the way we each believe to be right.—SYBIL MORRISON, 6 Apollo Place, London, S.W.10.

ALTHOUGH I myself walked in the Aldermaston March behind a banner opposing "All Wars Everywhere," I feel nevertheless that in her remarks on this subject Evelyn Peat (PN, May 15) has misplaced the blinkers!

The abolition of nuclear weapons BY ITSELF gets you nowhere. (a) It is not a realistic move, since by abolishing the deterrent only it increases the risk of war, and in any war these weapons could return; and (b) it is not a moral move, since it accepts violence, and says, in effect, that the degree of suffering inflicted does not matter—only its extent. Murder is OK; suicide is out.

A strong case can be made for individual pacifists working in CND provided they do it as avowed pacifists. But on the Aldermaston March were long-standing pacifists wearing the CND badge. It is these pacifists who, in my view, wear blinkers, and show disloyalty to their basic pacifist convictions. We are apt to forget that the vast majority of influential people still oppose both CND and pacifism. God forbid that they should refuse to give consideration to the latter because it has become confused with the former—which appears to them as an idiotic attempt to put back the clock.

I, for one, thank Stuart Morris and Sybil Morrison for holding on to the light in the face of so much opposition from within their own ranks.—OLWEN BATTERSBY, 80 Muswell Hill Road, N.10.

Briefly

Indian Government sources in New Delhi have compared India's military preparations, which account for 35 per cent of her entire central revenues, with those of Pakistan (55.7 per cent). The Pakistan figures do not include military aid from the United States or under SEATO and the Bagdad Pact.

The possibility of monitoring plutonium and carbon 14, as well as strontium 90 and caesium, in fall-out in Britain "is receiving urgent consideration," a Government spokesman told Frank Allaun, MP, in the House of Commons.

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PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Pacifist Universalist Service
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What another war would mean

GEOFFREY CARNALL reviews

No One Will Escape. By Hans Hellmut Kirst. Translated from the German by Richard Graves. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 18s.

HANS HELLMUT KIRST'S novel is an account of a fictitious but convincing crisis, which led to nuclear war and the destruction of all human life. It was first published in Germany in 1957, evidently inspired by the Suez-Hungary crisis of the previous year.

In relentless slow-motion Kirst describes the stages by which a political upheaval in Poland and Germany slips out of control. What is specially skilful is his portrayal of individuals taking crucial decisions: the opera-loving East German corporal who, overcome with honourable indignation at the sight of demonstrators breaking through the frontier, pulls the trigger of his machine gun without waiting for orders; the officer on the other side who, also without authorisation, and moved by a similar impulsive indignation, orders his own troops to fire; the West German Defence Minister sitting at his telephone and acquiescing in a general's plea to send a regiment into action against the East Germans, regardless of orders from NATO. Given the situation, and the attitudes of those who made the decisions, the whole process seems inevitable. But the decisions were real decisions, and need not have been taken.

It is this which saves "No One Will Escape" from being just one more disaster novel (like "1984" or "The Day of the Triffids"), encouraging a fatalistic yielding to a situation beyond the control of human wisdom. Kirst has the merit of showing vividly the qualities which are needed if man is to avoid the squalid death which he

describes. These qualities have been portrayed more sensitively by E. M. Forster and by Vladimir Dudintsev (for example). But Kirst, by the mere fact of explicitly connecting sluggish hearts with nuclear war, makes his challenge to the conformists and the compromisers with overwhelming directness.

Even so, I am not quite happy about the effect. What lives in the memory when the book is put down is a picture of pathetically small human beings scurrying around, dying in the end like insects in DDT, the impersonal forces of annihilation finding a voice in the familiar language of the news bulletin and the official communiqué. Is it a challenge, or an invitation to despair?

Perhaps it depends on the reader. For myself, I find it a useful book, because it makes me feel on my pulses the reality of nuclear war. This is no small achievement. Anyone who listens to the talk in pubs, university common rooms, or NATO headquarters knows that people still *think* of war in traditional terms. They may not *feel* the same way about it, but the uneasy awareness of what another war would mean is shut out from the conscious mind as far as possible. In this obscurity, such awareness probably does more to produce suicidal despair than a determination to deal with a new and threatening situation. Kirst makes a powerful effort to dredge the fear up from the unconscious, and to compel his readers to see its bearing upon moral and political decisions taken now, when it is not too late.

The novel would make a fine film. The only problem is whether any audience could bear to see it through.

AMERICA'S GUEST

A Peace News profile of Hilda Von Klenze

By MARGARET TIMS

HILDA VON KLENZE, Secretary to the General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, Stuart Morris, sailed on May 20 for a three-months lecture tour in the United States at the invitation of the American Friends Service Committee.

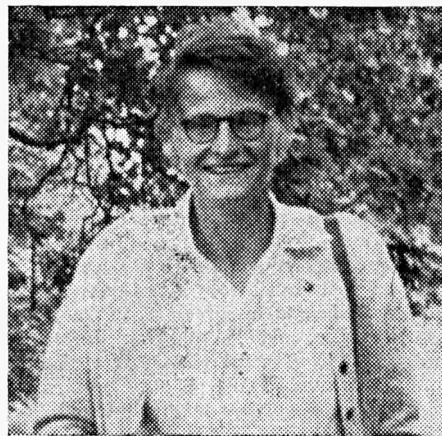
Starting at Wichita Institute, Kansas, on June 2, her tour will include "institutes," or summer schools, in Iowa, California, New England, Colorado, New York State, New Hampshire and Massachusetts. She will be speaking on the German situation and on non-violence.

Hilda von Klenze is well qualified to speak on both these subjects. She is Secretary of the PPU Non-Violence Commission and editor of its bi-monthly Non-violence Bulletin, which circulates in Britain and overseas. Although now a British subject, she is German by birth, spent the war years in Germany, and has visited that country each year since she settled in England in 1949.

During the war . . .

She is bi-lingual, having studied at University College, London, and taught for several years in Northern Ireland in the 1930s. In 1938 she spent some time in Dublin to prepare a thesis for her D.Phil. of Cologne University on Lady Gregory and the Abbey Theatre, in the course of which she met W. B. Yeats.

During the war she was able to teach in a private school, with an anti-Nazi head. She did not come into contact with the pacifist movement until after the war, when she went to Hamburg and helped with the



HILDA VON KLENZE

revival of the German Section of the War Resisters' International. She now writes a regular letter from England for its monthly journal, and translates into German the WRI's quarterly War Resister. She also reads regularly the German and Dutch press for the PPU and Peace News.

In 1947 Hilda von Klenze was one of a party of German civilians who were invited by the Foreign Office to tour German PoW camps in Scotland, in order to prepare the returning soldiers for the appalling conditions at home. This, she felt, was an extremely generous gesture on the part of the British Government, with no other motive than to help the men.

She has not visited the United States before, and her first encounter with Americans was as an invading army, when they crossed the Rhine close to the village where she was living after being twice bombed-out in Cologne. "When they got drunk they were rather fearsome," she says, but on the whole she had a very favourable impression of their kindness and generosity. Now she is looking forward to renewing her acquaintance in happier circumstances.

THE BURNING PROBLEM OF PEACE

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DIARY

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Friday, May 22

LONDON, W.8: 10.30 a.m. 1.15 p.m. Town Hall, High St., Kensington, Local Tribunal for C.O.'s. Public Admitted.

Saturday, May 23

EPSOM: 2.45 p.m. 3 St. Martins Ave (or 3 p.m. outside Myers Hall). Poster Parade for meeting May 25 and Demonstration. Volunteers urgently needed. Phone Grace Smith, Epsom 2711. Epsom and District Peace Fellowship.

LONDON, N.21: 2.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Winchmore Hill, Re-union of For Members and sympathisers. Rev. Mark Shirley "Lovers of Peace Within the Church." For.

SOUTHAMPTON: 3 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Ordnance Rd. Discussion on work of National Council and PN. Tea provided. AGM Southern Area PPU.

SUTTON: 11 a.m.-5 p.m. Cong. Hall, Sutton Court Rd. Free Exhibition and Films—Aldermaston, Japanese Fishermen, Atomic Epsom.

Saturday—Sunday, May 23-24

ILKLEY: Hollybrook Guest House, Queens Rd., Week-end School on Non-Violence. Arlo Talum and others. Details from Mrs. Higgins, The Brotherhood Church, Stapleton, Pontefract, Yorks Area PPU.

Sunday, May 24

BOURNEMOUTH: 7 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Avenue Rd. Stuart Morris "Talking Peace with Krushchov." Friends and CND.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3.30 p.m. 32 Tavistock Sq., Pacifist Universalist Service, Rev. G. P. T. Paget King "Empire of God." PPU Religion Commission.

LONDON, S.E.6: 8 p.m. St. Dunstan's Hall, Brookhouse, Rd. Films, including "March to Aldermaston." APE.

OXFORD: 7.45 p.m. Ruskin Hall, Walton St. Nuclear Disarmament Film Show. CND.

Monday, May 25

SHEFFIELD: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Hartshead. "Scientists on Trial." Dr. T. Kaiser, Physicist, E. V. Rowsell, Biochemist. CND.

LONDON: 7.30 p.m. Royal Albert Hall. Public Meeting. "Modern War—a Challenge to Christians." Canon John Collins, Victor Gollancz, Dr. Gruber, Prof. Hromadka, Dame Kathleen Lonsdale, Rev. Mervyn Stockwood, Jill Balcon, John Neville. Friends Peace Committee and Christian Action.

LONDON, S.W.1: 10.30 a.m. 2.15 p.m. Ebury Bridge House, Ebury Bridge Rd., Appellate Tribunal for COs. Public Admitted.

Tuesday, May 26

EAST SHEEN: 8 p.m. Vernon Hall, Vernon Rd. Harry Moore "Faith & War." PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 6.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St. All PPU members welcome. London Area PPU.

LEEDS: Lochaber Hall, Manor Lane, S.E.13. Dr. Don Arnold. CND.

MANCHESTER: 7.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Mount St., PPU and CND, Stuart Morris. M/c Cen. PPU.

Wednesday, May 27

BERKHAMSTED: Dr. Hugh Gordon. CND.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Square, Report from First World Citizen Parliament. Commonwealth of World Citizens.

MANCHESTER 3: 10.30 a.m. Assembly Rooms, Blackfriars House, Parsonage, Local Tribunal for COs. Public Admitted.

Thursday, May 28

HALIFAX: 7.30 p.m. Northgate End Unitarian Chapel. "The H-Bomb and the Christian Conscience." Rev. F. W. Milson (Leeds), Rev. G. J. R. Jenkins (Brighouse). Chair: Mr. J. G. Strik. CND.

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bushwood. Group Discussion. PPU.

LONDON, N.W.3: 8 p.m. 47 Netherhall Gdns. (Flat 7), between Hampstead Tube & Finchley Rd. Sins. Margaret Tims "The Peaceful Society." PPU.

Friday, May 29

ALTON: 7.30 p.m. "Hillcrest" Windmill Hill. Discussion on organising Non-Violent Resistance. Young Peacekeepers.

COVENTRY: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Hill St. Dr. Don Arnold, Pat Arrowsmith, E. A. Roberts, Gordon Schaffer. CND.

LONDON, W.1: 7.30 p.m. Partisan Coffee Ho., 7 Carlisle St. "The Challenge of African Nationalism." Alao Bashorum. Labour Pacifist Fellowship.

SWANSEA: 10.30 a.m. Committee Room 5, The Guildhall. CO Tribunal.

Sunday, May 31

LIVERPOOL 23: 8 p.m. 3A Courtney Rd., Waterloo, Crosby. Michael Wormold "Reflections on Aldermaston." PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 4 p.m. 32 Tavistock Sq. Open Discussion on "Pacifists and the General Election." Movement for a Pacifist Church of Christ.

Monday, June 1

HULL: 7.30 p.m. 6 Bond St., Tape Recording of Vinoba Bhawe, presented by D. Sowerby. PPU.

Tuesday, June 2

LONDON, S.W.1: 7.30 p.m. Caxton Hall, Caxton St. "Any Questions?"—a follow-up of May 5 "Is Peace Possible" meeting; Prof. Penrose, Stuart Morris, Sybil Morrison, J. Allen Skinner.

Thursday, June 4

HEREFORD: 8 p.m. Town Hall. Kingsley Martin "Nuclear Weapons—the Choice for Mankind." CND.

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bushwood. Speaker: Walter Hall. PPU.

Friday, June 5

HULL: 7.30 p.m. 6 Bond St., Discussion "The Political Implications of Pacifism." PPU.

OXFORD: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., St. Giles. Discussion on Nuclear Disarmament. Henry Osborne, MP and David Price, MP. Chair: Colin Leys. CND.

Saturday, June 6

SOUTHPORT: 10 a.m.-6 p.m. St. John's Hall, Scarisbrick St., Area Conference. Wilfred Wellock, Max Parker, Rev. Geo. Maland, For.

LONDON, W.C.2: 2.30 p.m. Kingsway Hall (Room 32) Symposium, "The Causes of War," Prof. T. H. Pear, Lucy Mair, Dr. Alex Comfort, followed by business meeting. Medical Assoc. for the Prevention of War.

Wednesday, June 10

DUNMOW: 7.30 p.m. Foakes Hall, 3rd Annual Film Show "The Choice of a Lifetime." Refreshments. Women's Crusade Against the H-bomb.

Rhodesia: The pathological minority

By FENNER BROCKWAY MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

EVERY week I receive threatening and abusive letters from the Rhodesias. They come from certain Whites who are almost pathological in their attitude to Africans. I have no doubt they reflect a minority only of European opinion; but some of the newspapers published and read by the Whites have a large responsibility for stimulating this attitude of mind.

This week, for example, I received a cutting from the "Sunday Mail" (April 19) issued from Salisbury. It was sent as a warning of what would happen to me if I ever go to Southern Rhodesia.

My colleague, Mr. Dingle Foot, MP, who is acting as the legal adviser of the Nyasaland detainees, is the immediate victim of this attack. The following heading spans three columns of print: "Where Dingle Might Have Dangled." In black type underneath, a letter is printed purporting to explain why Mr. Foot had sent a junior counsel to Southern Rhodesia instead of flying from Nyasaland himself. It is alleged that the Labour Party leadership in London had heard that "the next Labour MP to land at Salisbury Airport would be strung up to the nearest Massa tree by irate white settlers"! The letter continued:

The problem facing the Labour Party was whether they should take the chance of having Mr. Dingle Foot swaying gently from a branch off Queensway. Rightly, they decided no, and forbade him to go.

There is of course, no truth in this story. Mr. Foot is engaged in representing Africans in Nyasaland called before the Devlin Commission. Meanwhile, he has asked Mr. Mills Adoi, a barrister from Ghana, to visit Dr. Banda and the detainees in Southern Rhodesian prisons. The Devlin Commission will be proceeding to Southern Rhodesia later. I have no doubt Mr. Foot will accompany them.

Whites only

What has happened to Mr. Mills Adoi reflects the other side of the coin of White intolerance.

When he arrived at Bulawayo to visit Gwelo and Khama prisons, where over 100 Nyasaland Africans are detained, every hotel in the city refused him a bed!

I don't wonder that Africans "see red" on hearing of such things. My own blood boils!

The Whites in Southern Rhodesia are never tired of explaining that their objection is not to colour but to the absence of civilised conduct among Africans. Mr. Mills Adoi is more civilised and cultured than most of the Whites who hang around the bars of the Bulawayo hotels.

Very ugly news is coming from Nyasaland regarding the physical pressures which are alleged to be exerted on Africans by the police in order to make them acknowledge the story of the murder and massacre plot. I do not propose to detail these charges now. We must await the opportunity of hearing first-hand evidence. But enough brutality was proved in Kenya in the treatment of Mau Mau suspects to make one uneasy. We shall hear more of this matter.

The reaction of the Kenya Government and, indeed, of the Government in London, to the Coroner's report on the deaths of the 11 detainees at Hola adds to the sense of disturbance in our minds. The Attorney-General in Kenya has decided that no criminal charges are to be brought against anyone, although the Coroner found that the deaths were due to beatings. Disciplin-

ary action is to be taken against the Commandant of the prison and a second prison official. That is all.

I have no love of punishment. The 11 detainees would not be brought back to life whatever punishments were imposed.

But does anyone believe that if 11 Englishmen were beaten to death at Wormwood Scrubs prison in London, criminal proceedings would not be instituted?

Can we escape the conclusion that the different reaction in Kenya is due to the fact that the 11 men killed in Hola prison were Africans?

Our main attack, however, should be directed not against individuals but against the Governments, both in Nairobi and London, which permitted the conditions allowing these deaths to occur.

Deplorable facts

For more than three years we have received accounts of ill-treatment in prisons and detention camps in Kenya. Most of these charges have been denied after enquiries by Kenya Government officials. Sometimes they have reached Courts of Law, where deplorable facts have been revealed.

All through these years many of us have demanded in the House of Commons that an independent judicial commission should investigate the conditions in the Camps and prisons. The demand has always been refused.

I think we are now entitled to say that if there had been such an enquiry, the 11 deaths at Hola would not have occurred.

It is impossible to believe that any independent commission would have permitted the continuation of the conditions of discipline which preceded these deaths by violence.

Secondly, the Kenyan and British Governments must accept responsibility for the official explanation that the victims had died after drinking contaminated water. The Coroner was sufficiently scathing in his criticism of this misleading pronouncement. The public were left to believe that the cause of death was accidental poisoning. This impression should have been corrected by Nairobi and London; instead, it was given governmental authority.

Vote of censure

The third Ministerial responsibility was for the official Cowan Plan for handling detainees who declined to work. The report of the Coroner left no doubt what his opinion was of the connection between this Plan and the beatings and deaths.

The Attorney-General's decision not to initiate any prosecutions was made known to the House of Commons only on the eve of its adjournment for the Whitsun recess. In grave tones Mr. Gaitskell made it clear that the Opposition will return to the matter when Parliament resumes. I hope that the Labour Party will then move a vote of censure on the Government.

It is our duty to make it clear to the world that we stand for equality before the law for Africans and Whites, and that an African life is as sacred to us as the life of a European.

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MEETINGS

ALL FAITHS SERVICE, Wed., May 27, 7.30 p.m. Whitefield Mem. Ch., Tottenham Court Rd., W.1. Representatives of world religions will participate. Preacher: Mohammed Yakub Khan, Imam of the Woking Mosque. Organised by World Congress of Faiths.

MIDLANDS CONFERENCE FOR PEACE—Birmingham and Midland Inst., Sat., June 6, 2.30 p.m. Prof. J. D. Bernal FRS (author "World Without War") and Mr. Ernie Roberts. All interested Midlands organisations and individuals cordially invited. Delegates / Observers 2s. 6d. Visitors 1s. Particulars from C. King, 131 Wichnor Rd., Solihull, Warks., or Tel. B'ham South 3020.

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PERSONAL

FLOOD EMERGENCY. Volunteers wanted at once for unpaid manual work in the Le Gard district of France. Free maintenance. International Voluntary Service, 72 Oakley Square, London, N.W.1.

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LITERATURE

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SITUATIONS VACANT

FOR PEACE NEWS NEW PREMISES: Residential Warden/caretaker to be responsible for oversight and care of premises. Three-roomed furnished flat and bathroom, etc. available in exchange for services. Suitable for husband and wife with work elsewhere. One could fill full-time post on the premises as bookshop and despatch assistant, pay on usual Peace News basic and allowances scale. For further details please write: The Manager, Peace News Ltd., 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

PEACE NEWS OFFICE is open up to 5 p.m. every Wednesday evening for the sale of books and stationery, and for voluntary help with the despatch of Peace News. Visitors welcomed. (Mon. to Fri. 8.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.) 3 Blackstock Rd. (above Fish & Cook, Stationers), Finsbury Park (nr. sta.), N.4.

VOLUNTARY HELPERS with decorating, handyman or electrical experience urgently needed to help with preparation of new Peace News premises. Work parties every weekend—weekday help welcomed too. Please phone or write the Manager, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

Every week!

SUNDAYS

BRADFORD: 8 p.m. Hall Ings Car Park. Open Air Mtg. Bradford PYAG.

GLASGOW: Sundays 8 p.m. Queens Park Gates, Victoria Rd., Open Air Forum; PPU.

LONDON: 3 p.m. Hyde Park. Speaker's Corner. Pacifist Forum, PYAG.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: 72 Oakley Sq., N.W.1. Week-end work camps take place whenever possible. Phone EUS 3195. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

LONDON, N.4: 7 p.m. Peace News Office, 3 Blackstock Rd. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

New missile factory

A NEW factory, "engaged almost entirely on secret missile work," was opened recently, reports the Aeronautical Correspondent of The Times.

The factory, which was opened by the Minister of Supply, Mr. Aubrey Jones, is developing guidance and control systems for missiles. It is owned by the Sperry Gyroscope Company and is situated at Bracknell new town, Berkshire, about 12 miles east of Reading.

Over 1,000 men and women are engaged there on work demanding a high degree of skill and precision.



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OMAHA

● FROM PAGE ONE

have significant bearing upon the same cause and give the following examples:

● Citizens can find new ways to convince those in public offices that our country's goal should be withdrawal, unilaterally if necessary, from all preparations for war, thus setting an example which might break the vicious circle of destruction which now binds mankind.

● Scientists can refuse to work on weapons of mass destruction.

● Labourers can refuse to build missile bases and other military installations.

● Union members can strike against military projects, then choose peaceful, constructive work. Youths can refuse to submit to conscription.

● Taxpayers can refuse to provide funds to make weapons of genocide.

● Church members can work to bring the action of their churches in line with their profession of faith in the way of love.

"All action at the Omaha missile bases will be taken in the spirit of non-violence," they declare.

"It is, we believe, our democratic right and duty to engage in non-violent action against what we believe to be evil and dangerous policies of government. Any civil disobedience will be in the Gandhian spirit of accepting arrest and penalty. We act as members of the one human family and in opposition to militarism and war by any country.

"At the Omaha ICBM bases—and wherever war preparations go on—indiscriminate suffering and nameless torture are being prepared for countless men, women and children in our own country and in other lands. We do not want to see our own people so afflicted. We believe that we have no right, under any circumstances, to inflict this evil on another people.

"We cannot keep silent. We cannot stand idly by or pass on the other side. We hope our words and actions will move others to speak and act for peace." The address of Omaha Action is Post Office Box 9057, Chicago 90, Illinois.

Organisation is in the hands of Bradford Lyttle, author of "National Defence Through Non-violent Resistance," and A. J. Muste, Secretary Emeritus of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation.

FIELD MARSHAL MONTGOMERY has been making a number of rather curious statements recently, and has even given the impression to Emrys Hughes (PN, April 24) that he might be going to turn pacifist.

Unfortunately, he had scarcely given this impression when he was reported to have said that British and American troops should withdraw from West Germany and establish bases in Europe armed with strategic atomic weapons. So it appeared that the "old soldier" was still concerned with military strategy even while engaged in somewhat misleading political argument.

Now, however, in an article in The Sunday Times, he appears to be weighing up the necessary moves, other than military ones, for saving the world from a nuclear war, and very curious reading it makes.

He puts the conversion of the Soviet Union to Christianity as his number one move, but then declares that his number two move, which is to slacken tension in order to achieve peaceful co-existence, is a first step towards his number one move.

It is probable that Viscount Montgomery is what is ordinarily considered a good

The Albert Hall Meeting TO BREAK THROUGH THE CRUST OF APATHY

From Eric Tucker

The writer is secretary of the Society of Friends' Peace Committee, which, with Christian Action, is organising the mass meeting on "Modern War—A Challenge to Christians" in the Albert Hall on Monday.

THAT the meeting at the Albert Hall on May 25 will be the largest indoor peace meeting since 1945 is already certain. More than 3,000 seats had been reserved a fortnight before the meeting, which challenges Christians on the issue of war, was due, and it seems possible that 5,000 people, a capacity crowd, will finally attend.

For what purpose will they attend? Will it be the same old crowd, listening to the same old speakers, using the same old clichés? We believe not. The meeting has been planned to be something new in the way of peace meetings.

The two organisations sponsoring the meeting are a non-pacifist movement, Christian Action, and a pacifist group, Friends Peace Committee. It follows that the meeting is not one to convert people to pacifism.

But the organisers are united in believing that the development of nuclear

ONE-MAN WALK TO DORTMUND

TWENTY-TWO-YEAR-OLD Herbert Compton, who left London on May 2, is marching 300 miles in protest against the establishment of a rocket base in Dortmund, Germany, where the British 47th Rocket Regiment is stationed.

So far his march has taken him through Dover, Ostend, Brugge, Melle, Asse and Brussels.

His timetable is as follows:
May 22 arrive Roermond, Holland.
" 23 Roermond to Venlo.
" 24 cross German frontier and march to Aldekerk.
" 25 Aldekerk to Mors.
" 26 Mors to Duisberg.
" 27 Duisberg to Essen.
" 28 Essen to Bochum.
" 29 Bochum to Dortmund.

On Saturday, May 30, he will march to the rocket base.

A programme of summer activities has been issued by the Campaign in Oxford University for Nuclear Disarmament (COUNUD). Brian Ripley (Merton College) is Secretary.

Jack Coleman died on May 3 after a long illness. He was former West Midland PPU Chairman, also one-time Chairman of Birmingham Peace Council, treasurer and vice-chairman of Christian Action Fellowship (Churches of Christ).

weapons has produced a new situation which is a challenge to Christians whatever their viewpoints may be.

Men now have it in their power to destroy God's children—if not indeed, His world—on a scale quite incomprehensible to previous generations. Is man to use this power for destruction or is there another way that God would have him follow? What should be the Christian answer to aggression, to tyranny, and to evil when it is practised on a national scale?

Though some of the speakers have appeared before on a peace platform—and we shall be glad to see them again—some are not normally known for their participation in this field of public affairs.

The new Bishop of Southwark, for instance, who built up a reputation as a progressive and vigorous Churchman in Bristol and Cambridge, is a newcomer to the national peace platform.

Dr. Harold Roberts, the Principal of Richmond College and President of the Methodist Conference in 1957-58, is also new to peace meetings.

Neither of these men, I believe, would claim to be pacifists, but, like many others, they recognise that new developments demand new thinking, and they are willing to share with pacifists in undertaking the search for God's will in today's world.

From Berlin

The Dean of Berlin, Dr. Grüber, will also be an attraction with his views on the present situation in his tragically divided city.

The meeting will be conducted in a spirit of religious worship, and as far as possible things that might disturb that atmosphere—chairman's introduction and eulogy of speakers, clapping, etc.—will be eliminated.

After the Albert Hall meeting, what? Shall we return home after a pleasant evening's occupation? Or shall we be so disturbed that we feel compelled to bring together Christians and those looking for Christian leadership in our own areas to bring men and women to the recognition that war must be a thing of the past and men must find a way of living together in peace?

Christian Action and Friends Peace Committee intend to continue their co-operation in challenging the Christian conscience, but they will need the help of all concerned men and women to break through the crust of apathy which covers many in the Churches as well as those outside.

By Sybil Morrison

The Peace of Christendom

(1) Is it possible that the Russians can become part of Christendom?
(2) Is it possible to create such a slackening of tension that we and the Russians can live and let live? If we can find the right answer to No. 2 then surely the answer to No. 1 becomes a possibility, and then we could hand over a peaceful world to our children's children.—Field Marshal Montgomery. The Sunday Times, May 17, 1959.

Christian; he no doubt believes in God, and in Jesus as His Son, Who lived on earth, was crucified and rose from the dead.

It is possible that he also believes that Jesus preached a new gospel; a gospel of meekness not aggressiveness; of trust not suspicion; of love not hatred; and in this gospel, if it were accepted, he sees, as I do, the possibility of a world at peace.

Yet he does not visualise this possibility until Russia has been converted to Christianity, and absolutely fails to remember, apparently, that it is the countries of Christendom which have fought the bloodiest battles against each other in the past 50 years.

Indeed, in the last war, this Godless country Russia fought alongside so-called Christian countries, against the so-called Christian countries Germany and Italy.

Prayers to God for victory rose from German and Italian churches, as they did from British and American churches of all denominations.

Conversion to Christianity means little if it is the kind which calls upon its members to go to war in certain circumstances; which expects its church leaders to bless both the bombs and the bombers; which demands that its political leaders and its monarchs should publicly pray for defeat of the enemy, and which uses its churches for the display of flags and banners of war.

If Russia should be converted to this kind of Christianity there seems no reason at all to suppose that the world would then be secured in peace for our children and our children's children.

It was Christian nations which loosed upon a non-Christian country the horrible

PN AND WORLD REFUGEE YEAR

WORLD REFUGEE YEAR opens on June 1. Next week Peace News will devote most of its space to this subject.

James Bristol reports from New Delhi on plans being made to help the 12,000 refugees from Tibet now arriving in India, Jack Sheppard writes of the plight of the Chinese in Hong Kong, Margaret Tims profiles Oxford Famine Relief, John Hogan sketches the history of Quaker activity in this field, and Fenner Brockway devotes his weekly column to the subject.

Discussion of the British Council of Churches Report on "Christians and Atomic War" will be continued by the distinguished Catholic writer, Count Michael de la Bedoyere.

Postponement of Call-up

AS a result of pressure from Frank Allaun and other MPs the Minister of Labour and National Service has given details in the House of Commons of the type of family responsibility that would be given sympathetic consideration for the postponement of call-up for military service on grounds of exceptional hardship.

"The procedure for seeking postponement of enlistment into the Forces through the Ministry and the Military Service (Hardship) Committee remains the same," says the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors.

"An application will be entertained normally only if the applicant has already submitted to a Military Service medical examination.

"It is not normally available to those who are applying for registration as conscientious objectors."

Any conscientious objector who is in doubt as to his position is advised to write to The Secretary, The Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Exhibition success in Kendal

A LARGE shop in the centre of the main street of Kendal (Westmorland) displayed a striking nuclear disarmament exhibition over Whitsuntide. PPU, FoR and CND members co-operated in this activity which is the first organised by the newly-formed Kendal committee for nuclear disarmament.

Many hundred people saw the shop front and read the items in the windows. A list of supporters was compiled. "Further activities will be directed towards preparing for the Nuclear Disarmament Week later in the year," the Rev. Tom Wardle told Peace News.

PN at the Albert Hall

More Peace News sellers are wanted outside the Albert Hall on Monday, May 25. Supplies of this issue of the paper, which challenges Christians everywhere to re-examine the claims of pacifism, will be available from the front portico of the Hall from 6.30 p.m.

holocaust of the A-bomb; it was not atheist Russia, nor Buddhist Japan, that perpetrated this evil deed, the result of which has been the unspeakable evil of the H-bomb and all its satellite horrors. The peace of Christendom is, in fact, a mere myth.

To "live and let live" is nothing but an easy platitude, and naturally acceptable even to the most belligerent when faced with the dire possibility of total death. To achieve it, however, in its fullest sense, the necessity for the doctrine of trust and love is paramount.

To wait for someone else to be honest, or trusting, or loving before oneself following such a doctrine has nothing whatever to do with Christianity. It is unnecessary, and it is immoral, for Christians to wait for Russia to become Christian before following the teachings of the Founder of their faith.

The real need to-day is for some one nation to have the courage and the confidence in their own alleged belief in Christianity and put into practice the doctrine of love which would, in fact, secure peace for the generations to come.

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